installations in Rowanduz, the air of the commissariat office is heavy with tobacco smoke and the floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the prisoners.

Some distance up the street leading to the left past the canal, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the prisoners's most important subscriptions is the directory of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time assures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

84

The principal crops of the Rwandan area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving cows around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Roetarians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

to the state, private persons, and the Islamic faith, and the regular collection of taxes. If the land is cultivated, it prefers to obtain the revenue directly from the tenure, and, if privately owned, from its legal holders. The Arab government of Iraq cannot be said to be a model of efficiency, but it has quantitatively experienced an administration far different from that of the Turks or the chieftains.

If the changes of the last fifty years which have taken place in Kurdish life are reviewed, it cannot be said that any one aspect has been static, but in one the alteration has been far greater than in others. Aside from the society, the areas of discord are few in number. Items of Western technology have been easily assimilated, and it is not possible to allege that any self-sufficiency has been destroyed by the introduction of manufactured goods, for this dependency on foreign products has apparently been known for centuries. The specialization in tobacco in the district has, of course, conditioned versatility, but it has been profitable rather than detrimental, and, in any case, the agricultural production of the area, even at a primitive level, is only a part of its potential. In the house and its furnishings, the costume, the diet, life within the family, and religion almost nothing of a structural nature has been altered or replaced. The locus of modification, then, has been in the economy and the society, for, not only has a new class, the government elite, been added to compete for prestige with the native aristocracy,

a can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[49] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[50]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[51]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifur, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shekrisar plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, while the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[52]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

"The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of reduced clay, *kandi* or *wenk*, placed in a store room[53]. Two forms of silo exist[54]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as lid. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and shine. According to Reich[55] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[56]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carrycloth and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by creeks and larger watercourses; see Leach[57] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *fit*, has a plough-share, *pisin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kerpit*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a bow-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[58]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Tripolitanian plough[59] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[60]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish plough of antiquity from Hesnaes and Vebbestrup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dronup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Hadidy[61], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Tepsawa. Side and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2340).

is also stressed by Leach[49]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[50].

The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-moldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[51]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as in the case when transporting corn from the field to the house—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[52]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

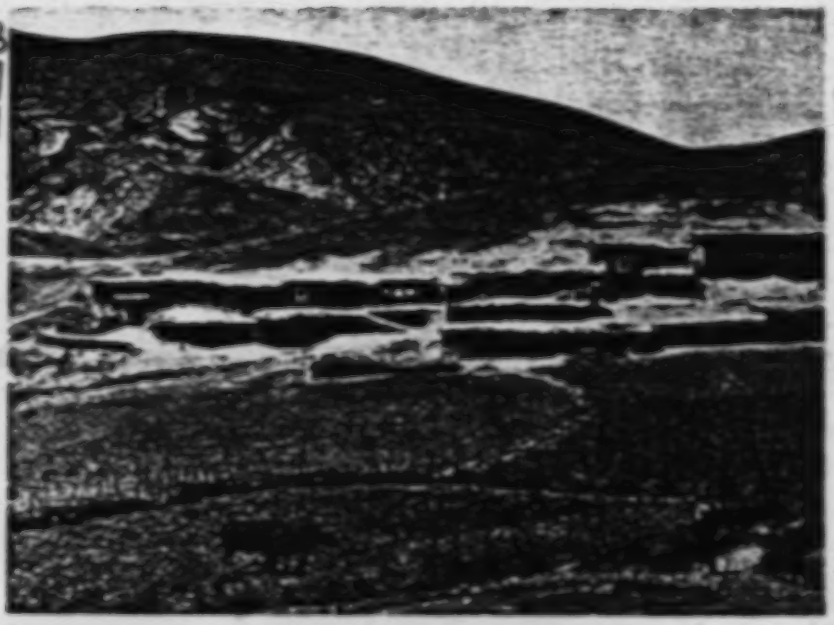

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Tegnere.

Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized. So far as I could discover the tobacco cannot be used for

Tobacco, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the ally in the town. They are placed in vertical grooves on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an aghil or aguyil. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sokimani on the Soukhna plain. Incidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sokimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Lundell, a manager "Issikka", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tegnere, Rakana, Bergale and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

5; Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,000 tons in 1954) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kalak* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and sun-dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern *liwas*, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 60,000 Kw. (and an ul-

7: Barth E-: (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

As contrasted to grain, where most of the work comes either in winter plowing or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation tak constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation systemof tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The low of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided forthe animals, so thus very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

The characteristics of subsistence and available techniques should to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the households. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the addition... ...actor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land codes, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the farmer is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

stipulated, e. g. for reaping 1/6 of the wheat crop, 1/1 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 fils/day (= 2 shillings) or 150 fils/day and no food.

The large landowner may rent out the rigths to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/2 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

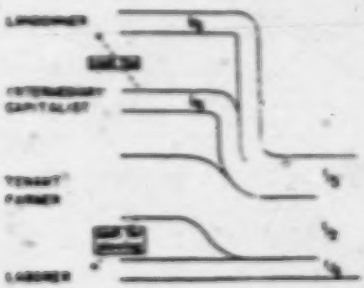

Diagram No. 1. Shares in division of a cereal crop.

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on un-irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a tenant village will consequently consist of 5—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it to the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

Attending to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either tend it each in turn, or one man among them may take on the major responsibility.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

take on the major responsibility. In tobacco picking, all the women and children of the village take part. 464 249 243

Rice cultivation usually takes place far from the village, if it is pursued at all. Rice requires a quite well developed irrigation system, connected with a dependable perennial stream, usually in the main valley bottom. The growing season is long, generally said to last some seven months. Persons living close to the fields are hired to tend the rice, and 1/3 of the crop is collected by the landowner as tax. It is therefore an expensive crop, but is considered to be the finest kind of food, and has considerable prestige value. In Table I, village status groups are indicated by the size of individual rice crops.

ECONOMIC CLASSES. 565 241

The system of progressive delegation of land rights in the tenant villages, referred to above with respect to the basic food crop, is in considerable measure responsible for the lack of efficiency in agricultural techniques and the low level of capital investment in equipment. Each person in the chain from laborer to landowner is only interested in obtaining his part return, not in further investments. An example might illustrate the point.

Threshing is generally done with six oxen, without any mechanical appliance or equipment. There does however exist a quite efficient thresher (mentioned by Leach, 1940) which could greatly reduce the necessary expenditure of man-hours. The value of this thresher was given as £ 12, its life approximately 20 years. It is generally considered that 2 mules working 3 days with the thresher do an equivalent of 6 oxen working 10 days without it. If we, to simplify comparison, equate the work value of a mule with that of an ox, that gives a reduction to 1/3 in man hours and 1/12 in expended energy. Though the gain thus seems quite spectacular, the thresher is in fact very rarely seen. The laborer himself has no capital to invest in equipment. The tenant farmer pays the laborer the customary share for doing the threshing, whether it is one way or an other, and is certainly not interested in assuming any further expenses. Continuing up the hierarchy, there is no greater incentive to such «investment» for the intermediary or the landowner. Conceiv-

probably at the instigation of the Agha, because he was held to have corrupted the morals of the youth. 609

Health services need not concern us. In the area studied there is no resident doctor outside the city of Erbil. 758

The Government have made various experiments in agricultural reform chiefly with a view to improving the breed of livestock and the quality of valuable crops such as tobacco. The Government's interest in the improvement of the tobacco crop is especially relevant to the area here described. Details will be discussed later but it may be pointed out that Government assistance of this kind is not a philanthropic enterprise. The heavy excise duty levied on all saleable tobacco much more than repays any expenses incurred. 695 249

The independent judiciary functions through its court in Erbil. In practice however it is in the nature of appeal court, since in the first instance cases come before the Mudir (sub-district magistrate) and then before the Qa'im Maqam (district magistrate) before being referred to the court. I am not clear as to the rules governing "appeal" of this sort, nor as to the limits of sentence that can be imposed by the magistrates' courts. So far as I know, only serious cases such as homicide automatically go before the court at Erbil. 635 692

During time of peace the military are stationed only at Erbil and Rowanduz. There appears to be a general attitude of suspicion and conflict as between the civil and the military authorities. In this area the civil service is staffed mainly by Kurds and Turks and is thus in general inclination Kurdo-phil. The army on the other hand is staffed mainly by Iraqi-Arabs whose hatred and fear of the "barbarous Kurd" can be taken for granted. 635 701 578

The liwa is divided into several districts (khaas) each presided over by a district magistrate (Qa'im Maqam). Area A, Map 1 with which this account is mainly concerned lies wholly within the Khaas of Rowanduz. The Qa'im Maqam is responsible for his district in much the same way as the Mutasarrif is responsible for his liwa. 635

The Khaas in turn is subdivided into several sub-districts (nahiya) over which presides a Mudir. The Balik tribe all reside within the nahiya Balik - the administrative district in this case coinciding with the tribal one. Dergala on the other hand is administered from Rowanduz.

The Mudir has in his direct control a number of policemen who provide the direct liaison between the external authority and the tribe. It is the venality of these junior officials which is the worst feature of the system, and which is the real source of

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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Effects of an Increase in Tobacco Cultivation

276 The Kurds are inveterate smokers and have cultivated their own
• 249 varieties of tobacco for several centuries. Though these particular varieties are still the preferred smoke for the Kurds themselves, they have little or no trade value owing to the crumbly nature of the leaf. In recent years however a number of modern cigarette factories have been started in and around Baghdad, thus creating a good market for a better class leaf. In the main this market is satisfied by the more sophisticated Kurdish areas such as Sulaimani, but the tribesmen of the Rowanduz district are also slowly beginning to adapt their production to the new conditions. In this they receive encouragement from the Government and the factory owners who supply free seed and instruction to those who want it; this service by the Government is of course more than recouped by the ultimate excise on the resulting product.

311 Under these new conditions the improved tobacco leaf has a cash
249 value proportionately vastly in excess of that of wheat or rice. In terms of a money economics it would be sensible to increase the area of land devoted to the production of tobacco at the expense of that devoted to wheat and rice.

Furthermore since, other things being equal, the area of tobacco cultivation would again only be limited by the supply of irrigation water available, the logical thing to do would be to abolish the rice cultivation altogether and substitute tobacco, both on the rice land itself and also on much of the wheat land - (tobacco requiring less water than rice). This development has actually taken place in certain of the lowland villages, notably in the Assyrian community round Batas, and the resulting financial advantage has been very marked; but in the Balik area the increase in tobacco acreage seems so far to have been very slight. In the highest villages such as Khalan and Rayat climatic conditions are probably unfavourable, but lower down in the valleys around Harga and Dergala where tobacco and rice are at present grown side by side there seems to be no immediate technical reason why the former crop should not be expanded. There would of course be certain difficulties in connection with the re-organisation of the water courses, and there is the problem of specialist training in tobacco cultivation but in the main it would appear that the problems involved are social rather than technical. If it were possible for every individual tenant to grow tobacco in equal quantities the transition to a modern cash economy might be simple. But in practice the existing tenancy rights are such that any extension of the tobacco cultivation must affect unequally different sections of the community - those whose land is converted to the new cultivation benefiting at the expense of the rest. We may analyse the problem in economic form in terms of the factors of production involved.

000 Land. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Lake. The land potentially available for tobacco cultivation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated; - its extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Here immediately there are complications. The irrigation system as at present arranged may serve a number of purposes 249 • 312 621

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appear to be a personal plot pertaining to the Agha alone and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be maintained.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Dargala) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the Agha himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The Agha for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco; but on the other hand if he reserves the whole of the tobacco cultivation for himself the tenants whose land is interfered with will have a justifiable grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that at Bata where such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the Assyrian tenants were new arrivals in the district and there was no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Alpine villages of the Bernese Oberland, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there does to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the cash incentive were sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'right' over such uncleared land rest at present exclusively with the Agh. 423 311

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant occupiers and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the wheat harvest comes in 464 241

464 late June and threshing proceeds steadily from July to October. The
291 much smaller rice harvest comes about the end of September. With less wheat and no rice, threshing could be finished by mid-september leaving labour free for the main work of the tobacco harvest. On the other hand the tobacco plant requires a good deal of finicky attention during the early stages of its growth which coincide with the wheat harvest. It is possible therefore that any radical increase in the tobacco cultivation is dependent upon the introduction of improved methods of threshing. A much greater difficulty arises from the fact that the change in labour requirements would not be equally distributed as between different households. Whereas at present each household has approximately the same programme of work, the situation would be greatly complicated if one man's land was devoted to tobacco and his neighbour's only to wheat. The difficulty could be avoided if all the tobacco cultivation were 'owned' by the Agha; - the commoner being under obligation to work for his Agha but not for a fellow commoner. Such a development would never be countenanced by the Government however since the system would be regarded as "exploitation" of the tribesman by his chief.*

• 249 648 Capital. The additional capital required for tobacco as opposed to cereal cultivation is not very significant. The Government is prepared to supply seed and expert advice; so far as I know the process of drying does not require any special technical apparatus. The re-organisation of the irrigation system would of course be an initial 'capital' expenditure for the community concerned.

Technique. On the other hand the mere statement that Government is prepared to offer expert advice rather oversimplifies the social aspects of the technical problem. I have already mentioned that the native Kurdish tobacco cured in the traditional manner results in a powdery substance that is quite useless for the purposes of a modern factory. In order to produce a marketable product, the farmer has to be taught entirely new methods. The reformer is here up against several types of difficulty. Firstly there is a simple conservative resistance, the dislike of new methods, not simply because they are new but because the practitioner in the old methods thinks he knows best. But there are other difficulties of a much more intricate kind. Here is an example.

249 609 648 The Government are prepared to supply approved villages with a trained expert to supervise the growing and harvesting of tobacco. Such a man was supplied to the village of Walash. He was a Kurt, but a townsman from the plains and by mountain standards a man of low moral

* In Betas, where in functional terms the Assyrian Bishop takes the place of the Agha, the tobacco crop is owned by the Church, and difficulties over individual labour requirements thus avoided. But then a Christian Bishop is obviously not the same thing as a tribal Agha!

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

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character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Malla's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two harmless looking nomads from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Sentence however was never carried out since the "criminals" curiously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the nomads were all a frame up by the police, who had the sense not to fish in troubled waters. The murdered man had really died of strangulation - hanged in the Guest House of Sheikh Mohammad, Agha of Walash and chief of the Balik.

This story was told me by Hamid Amin of Hasparism who was always eager to cast a slur on his cousin Sheikh Mohammad. It appeared however to have some general currency since, when I was discussing the maladministration of the local schoolmaster with the Agha of Rayat, he referred to the Walash story. "These small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, its effect among the Balik is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mohammad's prestige is not so great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Aghas who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

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To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Batas that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the emphasis of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
• 299 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

41
by detribalised Kurds from the Sulaimani area. Similar industrial 249 •
developments further north would provide a labour market for the Kurds 464
of the Erbil liwa. Notoriously the cheapest labour is that which is least organised. Once again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same set of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole. 421 437

In general the motives for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different communers, and trading contacts within the group are scarcely necessary.

Crafts

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that carding and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then worked up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.* 463 286 184

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Balash and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the goatherd was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families whose flocks he tended contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own stock; this fact being amply demonstrated at milking time every morning and evening when the womenfolk go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Shevdini of Bayat have large herds, and as stated already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent hoba, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no 223 463 [609] 184

* This idealises the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have no weaver of their own. The men still nearly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowandus and Erbil.

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Pr Roosevelt G-S (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

641 considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zeza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

668 Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The country houses of the Kürds are for the most part—like those of their neighbours, the Armenians, already described—underground dwellings, with the cattle-stable communicating with the *selamlik*, or public-room. The cooking stove consists of an immense earthen jar, wider in the centre than at the top and bottom, which is sunk into the floor of the principal room. Into it a quantity of *tezek*, the native fuel of compressed straw and cow-dung, is thrown, and from an iron bar placed across the orifice a kettle is suspended by a chain. Over this stove the women sit, regardless of the smoke and flame issuing from the ground as from the crater of a volcano. The smoke finds its only exit by the little window high up in the wall, which admits the small modicum of light with which the inmates content themselves.

The furniture is very simple, being merely a few carpets and quilts, some mattresses, and a number of leather wallets, which contain the wearing apparel and other household goods not in general use. This apartment serves as kitchen, sitting- and sleeping-room combined, three or four generations finding rest and comfort within its four walls. Out of this room opens the store-room, which contains a cemented cistern, like an ancient sarcophagus in shape, and a number of earthen jars of different sizes, the largest quite four feet high, in shape like the Greek *amphora*. The cistern is used for making a kind of beer called *bóza*, a liquor called *nardenk*, extracted from the juice of the pomegranate, and other provisions for domestic

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.[1]

At Sulieemanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *harimlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his '*Anabasis*', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kardoni kept their wine in cemented cisterns, bk. iv. chap. ii.

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Ewrikana, and Ashi Baybukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawa and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Lesch, 1940, pp. 69-70.

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eltaits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a shaykhana. The bus from Rowandus to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them.

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The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a shaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a shaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from travellers in the town who could find no other place to eat.

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[251]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is

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unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress. 251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the woman, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. 462 356 [957]

Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. [294]

There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. [296]

In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. 357

Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar 443 556

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sarew, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun duni, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fridberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifür, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandü* or *amär*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *Jit*, has a plough-share, *gäsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjär*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Worth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Worth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

342 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammām*, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *hayvān* by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an [251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which [252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one spot.

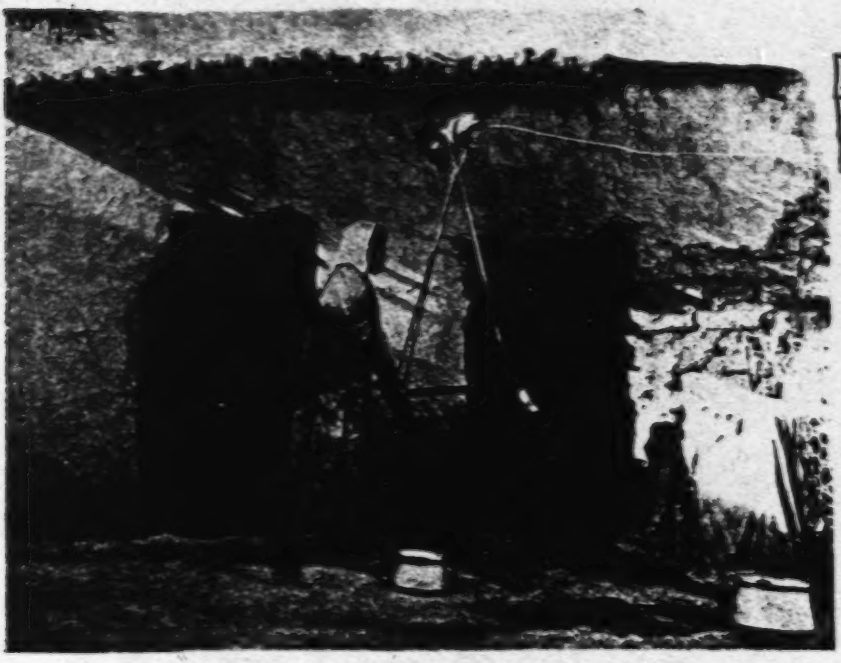
352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taifūr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepê*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[48] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rewgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčāk*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sāq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *libdāl*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waisted tea glasses about 5 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sāq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[38], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hêka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiyê*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[43] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the courthouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dog sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are hld to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

diced and moulded about a metal skewer (kabab) or alter- 252
nated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same 265
implement (tika). A charcoal fire is prepared in a [354]
rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

house has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Rowanduz, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, as it courses downward, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this in no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a rolled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a wooden door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used in winter. Cooking surrounds an earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the meagerest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

unused in the town. Cooking, particularly of grilled meats, can produce a great quantity of smoke, and even in the houses of the wealthy certain recipes are prepared in the yard. The kitchen itself is typically a bare room containing as permanent fixtures the large, beehive oven and a fire-pit or hearth beside it. As will be appreciated from the description of the diet, the type of fire employed, of which there are several, depends upon the dish. The oven is used for baking, the fire-pit for heating larger vessels, the charcoal brazier for broiling, and the brass kerosene burner, one of the most widespread intrusions into Kurdish life in recent decades, for a large number of smaller tasks. These last, manufactured in Sweden or Germany and purchased from the merchants, are diminutive stoves, the legs of which support the fuel tank, bending above it over the burner to form a platform, and use kerosene under mechanically induced pressure, as in the gasoline lamps. Boiling water, warming food, preparing tea or coffee, and a dozen other lesser jobs are accomplished with these devices, and even the poorer townspeople boast of their possession. There is a heterogeneous collection of metal cooking utensils, ranging from the wide, flat-bottomed tub in which dough is kneaded to tin bowls and cups. Niches in the walls are used for their storage, as well as the dishes in everyday use, those not too prized to be guarded among the treasures of the wife or displayed in the guest-room. Imperishable food, flour, sugar, tea, and the like, is kept in containers in the kitchen or a

detailed, examination will show. 262

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb 262 252 stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the [585] marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods.

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 262
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263] puqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandoq, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiwi sayaw, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun duzi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamon seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 43).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and malik (king) of Kurdistan.

[93]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

[R-22] 562 114

The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

142 516 252 291 412 415 302

4: Hansen E-5 [1957] 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Fellberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Tailfir, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horse-drawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizor plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kawdl* or *awdr*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *Jiz*, has a plough-share, *gâsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjik*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adaptation*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

[3C9]

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin 312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. 343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

[3C4]

[415]

[252]

[412]

[412]

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the 342 courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *liwan*. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[515]

[Text continues top of p. 34--analyst]

349 515 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the hammām, the steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was unpaved when I arrived. 342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two easternmost of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open keyside by a door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door, situated on a great stone lid set on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the living accommodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a medium jar-shaped baking [352] oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard. It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an [362] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[a] were built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the saucepan was placed under which a few of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors. Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, found on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and not assembled in one room or at one post.

352 556 [513] It is sometimes maintained[b] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh Taiba's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the older type, heavy, chintzy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small, octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a chest of drawers of this veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.

wages from the work at the Hakan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophones.

A quite small house in the village of Bekhe has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short, horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Bekhe peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cicero is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable sunlight as dignified on the floor as in the chair"[1]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a smoking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, saj or sâwa, on which the bread sheets, sâc, was baked were placed on the fire. The modern pie-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The barrier in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheepdog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

Fig. 38. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 39. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The house now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the sūq with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this house consisted of two wives, 35 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 20, 13, 8, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 23, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh property at Tuqaren, the house was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was decentralized, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no stool furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent banquet, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

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appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xīle-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

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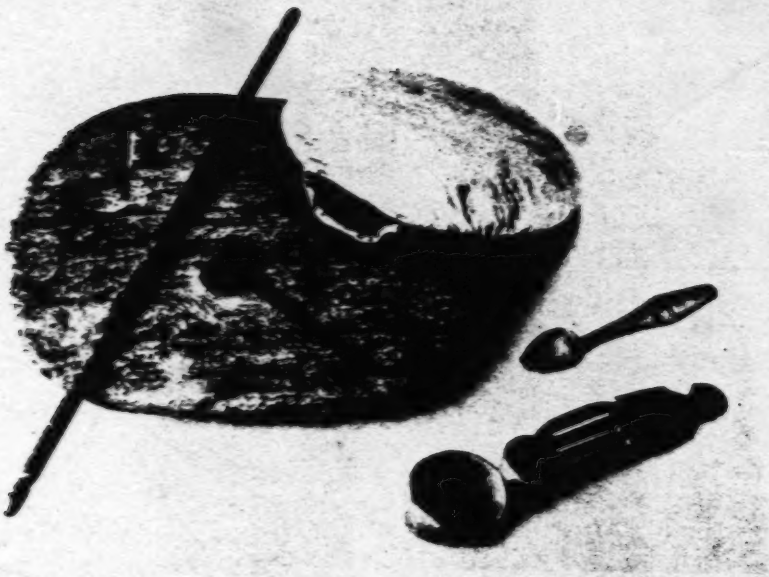

Fig. 34. Baking implements: table (E. 2261), rolling stick (E. 2263), baking pillow (E. 2264), and iron spoon (E. 2265). Small wooden spoon for eating (E. 2269) and wooden ladle for drinking (E. 2268).

252 oven, *tandir*[33], or on an iron sheet, *tāwa*[34] or *sāj*. In both cases the woman, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pīnu*[35], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661. sheet 0.365×0.250, height 0.07 m. – E. 2262. sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[496] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[36]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *tirāq* (E. 2263)[37], decorated at both ends by 6–7 incised flutes all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mauk* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening

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through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[39].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandūr* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sibād*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *haltzā* or *kbā* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Balkha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *šīr*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flatbottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dāza*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

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Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mašk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

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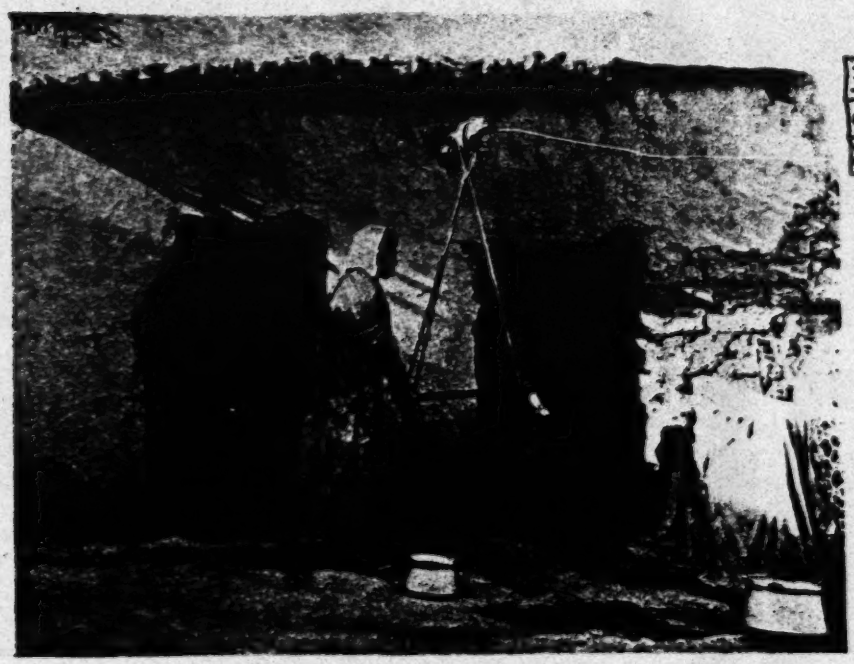
the wall of the cookhouse or fastened to the wall facing the courtyard; it could also be hung up on a tripod, *sepd*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house.

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed[48] in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *rowgan*[49].

Fig. 36. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. Topzawa.



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The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dûġ*. It is a beverage inferior to *mâstâw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *mâstâw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčik*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dûġ* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

The making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sûq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxâna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *lihâkâ*, (E. 2256) about 1.50×0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samôvar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sûq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces in a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[38], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hilka*, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *birinj*, rice, steamed in butter[39], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[40], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[41] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiyâ*[42] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[43] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[44] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[45]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

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HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

Village aristocracy. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

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The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the coolhouse or on a beam in the wall just outside the way down to it. The dug sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mast* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female.

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone.

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house.

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water-basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses.

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Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4–5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sûq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[73] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sûq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

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554 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The 788 two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be 292 hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained 788 pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban [565] milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy [292] area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet- [718] covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safâ* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafât which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as [262] in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The [252] dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

788 Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended 527 that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children 857 in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5–6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart-
[594] ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Østrup[23] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his house is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the *sūq* and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[24].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ur-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

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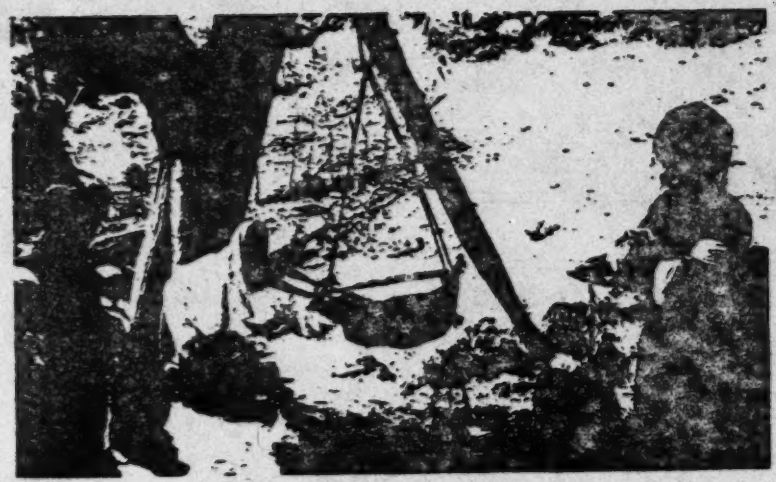

Plate 5.
Food. Girl churning mast, an operation normally carried out at early dawn.

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Plate 6.
Food. A visitor takes his meal. The food consists of thin bread (nan); rice soup; saua pilaw; ghee, and, as drink, mastao (watered-down mast). Note that shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the bowl of lump sugar beside the teacups in the background.

[Opposite page 74 - C]

elicits knives). No woman of any class of society is ever seen in a chaykhana. The bus from Rowanduz to Erbil makes several stops at tea-shops. The female passengers remain within or near the bus, and refreshments are brought out to them. 265 554 [562] [494]

The restaurant is to be found in a little arcade just above the central "square." In its furnishings it differs very little from a chaykhana, and its fare does not offer the customer a wide variety of choice. One can obtain kabab (finely-cut meat moulded about a skewer and grilled), stew, boiled eggs, bread, tea, and little else, and, by popular admission, the preparation often leaves much to be desired. Almost no one residing in the town patronized the place, save as a chaykhana, and its custom was solely derived from transients in the town who could find no other place to eat. 265 [262]

The butchers operate on a contractual basis. There is no refrigeration in the town, and, particularly during the summer months, meat must be consumed a short time after the animal is killed. Hence persons desiring to make a purchase must let the butcher have their order a day in advance, in order that he will be able to estimate the number of animals necessary for slaughter. The slaughtering-place is a gravel cut in a hill behind the town with a number of posts to which the animals are tied, and the slaughtering always takes place early in the morning. The meat which is not immediately sent to private customers is 253 [251]

carried into town and hung from metal hooks on a wall between two shops. By ten o'clock in the morning the butcher's day is finished, and, aside from the slaughtering-place and the sales' display on hooks, he has no other place of business. Only two or three animals are killed each day, always sheep or goats, because cattle, in their utility in agriculture and the impossibility of profitably disposing of so large a quantity of meat, are almost never killed. The butchers purchase their animals from villagers or kotchir, and sell the dressed meat to their patrons. All parts of the beast are disposed of, if not by humans, then by dogs, and by noon the slaughtering-place is bare, save for a few blackened stains of blood on the gravel. The butchers' greatest days of business occur on the first days of the feasts of Jayjani Ramazan (the 'Ayd al-saghir, "the lesser feast," which ends the fast of Ramadan on the first days of the tenth lunar month) and Jayjani Qurban (the 'Ayd al-kabir, "the greater feast," which begins on the tenth day of the twelfth lunar month) when every family able to afford the expense has a sheep or a goat slaughtered in sacrifice. Most households purchase their animals in advance, keeping them in the houseyard until the day of the feast.

That the fishermen and the hunter are only seasonally employed has already been noticed. They offer their respective catches in the bazar at large, or go from door to door among the wealthier households. Villagers with chikaw

and valley according to the seasons. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, ashi, from Arabic, hashing) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlakaw, and Ashi Baykhukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Barir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

fixed and suckled about a metal skewer (isheh) or alternated in whole pieces of flesh and fat upon the same implement (sikk). A charcoal fire is prepared in a rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze, until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a sirdikang. As with the butcher, one must place a request on the day preceding, for after noontime the kebabchi has often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique involves equipping the children of the house, either of baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or millowners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge, flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped [illegible], open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowandus, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

The hotel, khan or serraserra, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

pilgrimage to Mecca, an expensive undertaking for the people of Rowanduz. 788

A more precise idea of the actual sums involved may be obtained from the example of a general merchant, Fatah-Ullah, who, while not in the class of the wholesalers, is wealthier than some of his fellow merchants, and most other shopkeepers and craftsmen in the town. Fatah-Ullah keeps a small general shop in the bazar from which he obtains about 250 fils a day, and owns a house in which he rents two rooms, in 1951 to a police constable and a teacher, for a total of 4 dinars a month. In addition he has a contract with the serai to furnish prisoners in its jail with bread and stew, at about 60 fils for each head, and there are always four or five prisoners on hand. Fatah-Ullah's wife bakes bread, which is peddled about the town by some of his children, realizing about 200 fils every day. His gross income for a year may be estimated as follows: 443 434 [427] [265] [256]

(1000 fils : 1 Iraqi Dinar : $2.80)

	Per diem	Per annum	Per annum
Shop	250 fils	6.250 dinars	75.000 dinars
Rental	-	4.000 dinars	48.000 dinars
Contract	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
Bread	200 fils	5.000 dinars	60.000 dinars
		20.250 dinars ($56.70)	243.000 dinars ($680.40)

Against this, Fatah-Ullah has a large number of expenditures. He must, of course, purchase the merchandise for his shop, and flour and vegetables for baking and the prison contract. In addition, he must buy food and clothing for himself and his family (he has seven 443 511

311 241 421 denied this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual holdings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of commoners must hold in separate plots at least the following:- one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of wheat and one patch of fallow. But my informants never formulated the position to me in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of inheritance concerning which my first hand evidence is very slight. As I have shown, it appears that so far as land is concerned the injunctions of the Koran have scarcely even a nominal relevance. Granted however that the Agha as landlord has a nominal right to determine absolutely the inheritance of land tenure among his tenants, it is still far from clear how this works out in practice.

Rice

243 671 The rice cultivation seems usually to be the personal property of the Agha - this being true at least for Walash, Rayat and Dergala. I did not discover what particular individuals are conscripted to work this cultivation or how they are recompensed. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Walash this cultivation is not turned over to tobacco. Sheikh Mohammad actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with his enemy the Mir of Dergala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was also to grow so much more tobacco. Possible political reasons for this conservatism have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Kurdish point of view it just is not sense to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Aghas show remarkable intuitive foresight.

The Mill

256 402 An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Dergala, Rayat and Nerga. Walash has none but there is one at Nanpurdan. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very advanced. As may be seen from the diagram and photographs the machine is worked as a horizontal turbine and thus uses the 'velocity' head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it disposes of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were 'precision made' there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the crudity of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the minimum of attention.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Where possible the driving water is obtained by diverting some main stream. This is done at Nauperdan, Bayat and Merga and the operation of the mill then has no effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate. If the stream is diverted through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the cultivation on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some friction arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good kicking from the Agha for cutting the dyke during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hastily thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a near relative of the Agha. In Nauperdan it is the Agha himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the Agha. The terms are in effect that the owner of the wheat hires the mill at a fixed charge for each sack of corn ground. The man who owns the wheat himself operates the machinery. There is no suggestion of selling the corn to the miller. The millowner merely obtains a rental for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with up-to-date apparatus in the towns, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the trouble involved in carrying the wheat to Rowanduz and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In outlying districts at any rate then the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

Weaving

"The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the cloth loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "beater in" suspended from a rigid rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 10½ inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. Thus from specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trouserings of commoners, has Warp 19; Weft 22 threads

"The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not considered here since its social relevance seems insignificant.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

1; Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kūrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 262 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [263] called *djadjk*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kūrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *bish*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *libardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kūrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchurókia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [301] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kūrdish lady. Notwith-

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KŪRDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kūrds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kūrdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of *Ramazan* so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a *narghileh* at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by *imāms* of their own race, Kūrdish Mollahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kūrdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for rapacity and greed, highly unpopular among their brother Kūrds. To the latter they are,

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The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, chikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salamu aleykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa aleykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodnes of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakhan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

265 576 265 [415] [272] [262] [443] [524] 353 265

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rectangular metal brazier and brought to a bed of glowing
coals with a wicker fan. The skewers are placed over
this fire, and turned, with continuous fanning of the blaze,
until the meat is done. The grilled product is largely 265
sold by order to private homes, but some may be used in 437
the restaurant and still other offered to customers in a
chaykhana. As with the butcher, one must place a request
on the day preceding, for after noontime the kababchi has
often exhausted his supply of meat. The name of this [578]
occupation can be used in insult, and has much the same
meaning and strength as "chimney-sweep" in England of a
hundred years ago.

One of the most important items in the diet of the 256
townspeople is bread, and a huge quantity is baked daily, [262]
both by professionals and housewives. In addition to the
men who are bakers by profession, there are a number of
women who prepare a surplus beyond their needs at home
which is peddled about the town. The usual sales technique [443]
involves equipping the children of the house, either of [857]
baker or of housewife, with basketfuls and dispatching them
from shop to shop in the bazar and from house to house in
the town. The flour, purchased from merchants or mill- [415]
owners, is a coarsely-ground, greyish product, and, with
the addition of water, is kneaded into dough in a huge,
flat bottomed tub.

flat-bottomed metal tub. The oven, made of fire-hardened clay, is a large beehive-shaped affair with its round, open mouth close to the top and the draught so arranged that the fire below is extremely hot and smokeless. When the oven is heated, the flat unleavened cakes are slapped against the inner wall of the oven near its mouth and plucked off when they are done. Even though baked one at a time, the intense heat of the oven permits the production of a great number of cakes in a relatively short period of time. The resulting product is a round, greyish-brown cake about eight inches in diameter and a half inch in thickness. As with other peoples of the Middle East, bread or nan is treated with almost religious reverence, and to maltreat it, for example, to throw it away, is regarded as the incredible abuse of a blessing.[1] Discovering this, some of the British troops stationed in Iraq used to bait their servants by kicking crusts about their messroom floor. In Rowanduz, it is customary when a man spies a fragment of bread on the ground that he pick it up, kiss it, press it to his forehead, and place it on a wall or some other spot "for the poor," a usage which was observed in the streets several times.

256 [354] 262 ● [735]

The hotel, khan or garvansara, is reached through a narrow entryway between two shops near the restaurant. It is a peculiarly shaped structure, apparently built up 485

[1]Some idea of this is to be seen in the Egyptian colloquial word for bread, 'aysh, which in literary Arabic and in other dialects means "life".

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision. 443 556

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more 264 262 [263]

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detailed, examination will show.

Meat is used in the larger household almost every day. Beef is rare, as is the biryani, a whole roasted lamb stuffed with rice, almonds, raisins, and spices, only appearing on the occasion of great feasts, such as the marriage of a chieftain's daughter. On the other hand, smaller quantities of lamb, mutton, or goat-meat, charcoal broiled on iron skewers (kabab, if diced, and tika, if whole pieces of flesh and fat), are everyday favorites. The same type of meat is also prepared as a stew with the addition of vegetables, and, diced and mixed with rice, used to stuff cucumbers, grape leaves, marrow, and tomatoes which are baked. Chicken and chikaw, the mountain partridge, are generally boiled, and the broth is served as a soup. Eggs are either fried in oil or boiled. Most of this cooking is accompanied with a great quantity of gi, clarified butter or vegetable oil, although in summer the townspeople try to avoid greasy foods.

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252

[585]

Bread and rice have great importance, some of the latter produced locally, but the better grades imported from Iran. Rice must first be washed to remove dirt and pebbles, while a strong fire is built in the earthen cooking pit. A metal pot is placed over the flames and a quantity of oil and water are added. When this mixture boils, the rice is poured in and the whole is left until most of the liquid has boiled off. When this point is reached, the larger pieces of firewood are removed, and the pot is allowed to

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 952 262
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263] puqlawa, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is soaked with a thick sugar syrup and cut into segments. Rice flour [853] and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234] brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dandoq, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favored in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavored with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shiuwi sayaw, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun dusi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamon seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Mastaw, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of undulant fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

differs little from that of the townspeople, but it is necessary to mention the drinking parties of the men. The Kurds of this area are not fond of alcoholic beverages, although a few of the chieftains have experimented with them, and it can almost be stated categorically that no person native to Rowanduz makes use of them. A "secret sinner" (the use of intoxicants is forbidden in the Quran) would have a difficult time, for his wife would be sure to find him out and carry the tale to kinsmen, but there seems to be little desire, even among the young men and other persons disgruntled with the unchanging tempo of country life. Bayin Amina, the wife of Shakir Effendi, was married from an Ottoman family in an area of Turkey where drinking, separately, to be sure, of groups of men and woman of the upper class was commonplace. She regretted, not the deficit of potables, but the cheerful women's parties of her youth. With the officials and army officers it is quite otherwise, for many come from the great cities, or have had their training there, where inebriation is a standard form of entertainment. Some of the officers prefer beer, perhaps on the analogy of British officers, but the most popular is arrack (omnipresent in the Eastern Mediterranean: ouzou in Greece, raki in Turkey, zibib in Egypt, and 'arag in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq), a distillate of fermented grapes or dates flavored with anise or mastika, gum arabic, and of great potency. It is poured in small amounts into tumblers and water is added, which, if the

262 ● 273

[701]

flavoring is anise, causes the liquid to become milky in colour. A necessary accompaniment is the meze (from a Greek word, universal with the liquor) which consists of a large variety of small dishes to be eaten while drinking, ranging from nuts and cucumbers to cold chicken and grilled meat. The red wine of the Nestorians is not used by the officials and officers. Most of them, as a concession to Islam, forswear intoxicants during Ramadan, but the remaining months of the year offer no such obstacle. These gatherings, of which gambling is the prominent diversion, will be met again.

In the household the service of food depends for its character on whether or not guests are present. If members of the family are alone, they eat together, men, women and children, seated on the floor, or, in a few cases, at a table. The place of eating varies somewhat, and can be the kitchen itself, a neighboring sleeping-room, the divankhane, or the courtyard. The food is served in large dishes by the women and these are placed in the center of the gathering. Often silverware and plates are used, and otherwise, only the fingers and a piece of bread. There appears to be little correspondence with social status among the wealthy in this matter, although the poor always eat with their hands. The head of the house takes the first bite, saying as he does so, bismillah, "in the name of God," and others follow him. The servants have their meal after the family is finished. In a family gathering of a larger size, in which men and

The use of alcoholic beverages,
gambling, and the eating of pork (as well as certain other 262
"unclean" animals) are specifically prohibited in the Quran. [525]
The chieftains and commoners, more as a matter of taste [273]
than of piety, infrequently break the first two of these [183]
demands. The government elite, as has been noticed, finds
its chief diversion in them. No one in the three groups,
including the several Christians among the officials, ever [177]
eats pork. There was a peculiar tale current in the town
of a Kurdish tribe "somewhere in the mountains" who eat
the flesh of swine, but it is probably fabulous, like the
bears who carry off women as mates or the numerous caverns
of buried treasure. The Nestorians, however, hunt the wild
boar and eat it. Blasphemy, as a matter of cursing, is 711
an everyday affair, but in all the groups of the town it
was impossible to find anyone who challenged religion.
Some of the better educated officials and teachers, to be
sure, exhibited views which might be termed "liberal," but
none was a serious unbeliever. There is perhaps a reason [212]
for this, the almost religious regard for all written or
printed material, so common in the Middle East. A teacher,
confronted by the Quran on one hand and an atheist pamphlet
on the other, is convinced that in some way both are true,
because both are printed, and can either be reconciled or
exist, equally valid, side by side.

The Muslim religious calendar is lunar, dated from 905
the flight of the Prophet from Mecca in 622 A.D., and con-
sists of twelve months. Because it is based on the rotation
of the moon about the earth, rather than that of the earth

fasted for you and you should come to my help." Out of the sight a man appeared who asked me my difficulty. He helped me get the mule to his feet and reload the rice. The two of us were walking along together, talking, and suddenly I discovered I was alone. Khidir Elyas lived long ago and God gave him such power to do good that he disappeared. This is why people ask his help while he is gone. When Jesus will come again with Ahmad the Mahdi, Khidir Elyas must be with them, for otherwise they cannot come. 773 776

Persons in Rowanduz who choose to do so fast "for Khidir Elyas" for three days in the fall. Between sunrise and sunset they do not allow themselves food, drink, or tobacco. Others distribute gifts of food or clothing to the poor. Rowanduzis make a sweet called Helerwet Khidir Elyas which is exchanged between households at this time. The exact dates of the observance could not be obtained, save that it "came just before winter." This interesting custom does not have the sanction of the mullas and the purists in the town, and is not followed by all. 745 742 [735] [243] [431] [161]

With the Serrug and Khidir Elyas observances, the "official" faith of Islam has been left behind, and the next subject of popular religion which requires consideration is the matter of the shaykh or holy man. Occasionally, this title is aristocratic and inherited in the male line, but it is most often accorded to persons who, because of their piety and the miraculous power they seem to enjoy, have acquired widespread reputations. Such as these can be powerful chieftains, noted for their justice, or the most humble of commoners. They are reputed to have the ability to effect miracles during their lifetimes, and this power continues to exist in their graves after death. Many of 792 [771]

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

[177] wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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[342] [343] A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the house round the side of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a layer of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the exterior edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

[184] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cell—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Cows is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the oven-pan, circular iron sheet, sāj or tāwa, on which the bread sheets, nān, was baked were placed on the fire. The tandoor pit-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

[352] [352] [312] [364] [513]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA1: Kurd MA11

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *bez*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xāw-dān*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron-spoon, (E. 2365) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gumā*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sekhmani bakeries stuffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[34]. 252

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The oven is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[35]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sifidd*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2270).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tabaa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not [412] see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are slapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[36]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket. 423 234 412

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[37], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *halhal* or *khal* (E. 2220), made of a whole lamb's hind- or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Rekhke, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking. 412 415

Milk, *Sh*, is never used raw[38]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flat-bottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dhw*, (E. 2269), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production. 234 252 415

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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234
291
857
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Fig. 35. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Tegarew.

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262

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[42]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[43].

[272]

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[44], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *korr*, is churned[45].

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234
[415]

Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *mâlk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[46] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dūg*. It is a beverage inferior to *māstāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *māstāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used. In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market[50]. In the villages the drink is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčāk*[51], (E. 2268), about 0.38 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dūg* can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain away by spreading the mass over a course woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

Her making of tea. In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high (E. 2275)[52], was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where one could stop and be served with tea, *čay*. The making of tea in the home will be dealt with apart from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended, being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests[53], and in the evening constitutes both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *bōdā*, (E. 2256) about 1.50 × 0.75 m. In front and around her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-shaped *samōwar* of pewter or brass[54] standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse, or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water, a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the samovar washed tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons[55] lie in a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being crammed with granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces on a cloth by a special sugar hammer[56]. A bowl with three lumps of sugar is also passed round[57]. The tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used. When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[28], and, rarely, fried eggs, Milla, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104° F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *brinj*, rice, steamed in butter[29], with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[30], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kâbâb*—not the Turkish kind[31] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmi(ya)*[32] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[33] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[34] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balkha is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[35]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225–0.245 m. long (E. 3266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
262 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastāw* or the less-distinguished *dūg*. These are drunk from glasses if
[372] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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312 *Fetching of water.* Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
415 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
482 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
462 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm: there are also water skins, *kawd*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply.* Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are [239] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat earthen pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating.* During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brasier of charcoal", and that "a stand under a quilt ... formed the "korsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Millingen[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus du foyer un tabouret (*korsi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mâst* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to be put in *mâstâw* is fetched from the *sây* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kâbâb* is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *kâbâb* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *sây* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and trashing. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's house. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was rather too interested in *mesar*, an Arab game of chance, at the tea house (Sure 5, verse 91 of the Coran forbids gambling). However, these rumours were denied in strong terms by my interpreter, the young man's sister, who invoked Allah to witness the truth of her refutation. The next question to be discussed was the amount of the bride price and how much of it was to be spent upon jewellery, household utensils and so forth. This bride price and its size was periphrastically referred to by my interpreter as "what one will do for the girl". A third subject also came up for discussion: the young man's appearance. Curiously enough, no photograph was produced although there were photographers in Sulaimani. A plan was concocted whereby the girl's mother—closely veiled of course—should drive in a car slowly past the small electrician's shop owned by the young man's father, where at the time (the summer holidays) the suitor was. In this way the girl's mother would obtain a glimpse of the person to whom she might decide to hand over her daughter.

It was the intention that the third meeting should be the final one between the women, and that the girl's mother would then place the matter before her husband to secure his sanction to the decisions reached by the women, whereafter the matter passes to the men. After that the girl's father would arrange a meeting between himself as his daughter's *wali* on the one hand and the young man and his father, possibly accompanied by some friends[9], on the other. In regard to similar situations in the villages, which, however, I had no opportunity to witness, I was told that at one place 150 men from a young man's village assembled to thank a girl's father for having sanctioned the union. These friends and guarantors for the young man's qualifications were served with tea by the girl's father, the prospective bridegroom having supplied the dearest item, namely the enormous quantity of loaf sugar, chopped into big lumps, used on such occasions. This may have been a Kurdish parallel to the engagement meal of the men of the two families that, according to Granqvist[9], is partaken by the Palestinian Arabs.

Incidentally, after this third and final meeting of women, my interpreter declared that it would be fitting if some time elapsed before the meeting between the men took place, as it did not look well for the young man's family to evince too great an eagerness after the marriage had been arranged. My return to Denmark stopped me from following the matter on the spot, but a letter from Malika brought me further news. She wrote: "*Please you asked me about my brothers wife. She is not the same girl which we wish you went to their house because we did'nt agree with the family, so we took another girl from the best Kurdish family. Her father is Sheikh Mahmoud's cousin which you met his son Baba Ali*". From this letter it appears that it is possible for the young man's family to break off marriage negotiations at a relatively late date. It also seems from the words "*we took ...*" that it was not the young man himself, but the family, in the first instance its female members, which changed the prospective bride. No mention is made of the girl's appearance or qualifications; the most important factor in the urban milieu apparently is to become related to a family of good repute and high social position.

To sum up the question of marriage negotiations in urban circles, it can be said that the bride need not be sought within the family. The father's brother's daughter marriage appeared to be practised by the village aristocracy. Marriage was a matter of family policy, weight being attached to the social prominence of the family with which a marriage alliance is sought. The women of the young man's

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 13. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[141], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[142], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[143], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[144]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[145], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 304 304 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing ! otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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585 [982] [177] that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[131], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[132].

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585 369 In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and [142] [971] received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *Āb-hik*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception [292] [179] room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

554 788 292 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9–12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

788 [565]

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two untailored draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

[592]

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

[718]

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

[242]

[252]

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 5-6 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

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574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672.

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Maidservants	Mostly kinsfolk of some sort
4	Manservants	
1	Mulla	
1	Brother	
5	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as "the expenses of the Guest House", though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

Moreover the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
263 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee:
272 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Russian style
177 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
435 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities
574 of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about 45/- a bag (of 36 Kilo); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically effected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and mostly frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
262. between the Guest House and the Aghas net income, the importance of
511 Guest House expenditure in the economic of the group as a whole must

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

not be underestimated. The consumption of sugar, tea and coffee is to a large extent confined to the Guest House and it is important to recognise that these are the principle items of ordinary consumption that have to be paid for in cash. *In the simple foods, wheat, rice, meat, fruits, etc. each small community can be largely self supporting; it is only the luxury foodstuffs associated with the Guest House which have to be paid for in cash. The effect of this upon the general economic organisation will be discussed presently.

Meanwhile it should be noted again how closely linked from the Kurdish viewpoint is the upkeep of the Guest House and the upkeep of the Aghas household in general. This attitude is not so inconsistent as at first appears. Although the womenfolk never appear in the Guest House, it is they who do all the work connected with it. It is the women who milk the goats and prepare the mast (a milk product similar to yaghourt), it is the women who make the bread and do all the cooking - and all this is work for several pairs of hands. In the commoner's house one wife alone can readily enough accomplish all the work required of her, but the hospitality undertaken by an Agha in his Guest House involves the work of a number of women, and this is consistent with the fact that the Agha's household is normally the only polygynous group in the community.

A further point to be noted in this connection is that not only does the Agha's household include an abnormal proportion of women, but that the upkeep of these women is much more expensive than the average. In the Balik area nearly all the males have their clothes made from locally woven cloth; even the Aghas and their sons, though employing better quality materials than the commoner, stick mainly to Kurdish cloth and eschew the fancy clothing adopted by townsfolk and the Aghas of the plain. This appears to be due to their severely puritan tastes rather than to economic necessity. A nephew of the Agha of Rayat was seen wearing a suit of ordinary Kurdish style but made of obviously expensive imported cloth in plain bright colours, - this was much admired; but at the same time a trader from Rowanduz, who was wearing a rig out of the cheap gaudily striped Japanese cloth typical of Near Eastern Bazaars, was held up to ridicule as a man of no taste. Anyway, as the conventions are at present, neither the commoner nor the Agha incurs much cash expenditure in connection with his own clothes; but for the womenfolk it is different. In the old days they too were well satisfied with the simple cloths produced on the local looms, but now more and more they are becoming eager for "frills and furbelows" - Japanese cotton prints for the commoners, Indian silks for the wives of Aghas. In part this is the inevitable result of the greater facilities for trading contact brought about by 'pacification' and the building of the road, but the tendency was undoubtedly accelerated by the policy of the Administration after the Great War

* The more important Aghas often import extra supplies of rice so as to avoid giving their guests the inferior rice substitute sawa (see later).

any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin slabs (nan), and a sour milk product of the yaghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (sena) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as marrows, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the sena if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammad of Balash and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Balash was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of sena.

In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

252

Plate 5.
Food. Girl churning mast, an operation normally carried out at early dawn.

264
262 •

Plate 6.
Food. A visitor takes his meal. The food consists of thin bread (nan); rice soup; cous pilaw; ghee, and, as drink, matton (watered-down mast). Note that shoes have been removed before sitting down to eat. Note also the bowl of lump sugar beside the teacups in the background.

[Opposite page 74 - C]

36: Hooper and Field 3-5 (1936) 1937 MAI Iran MAI Iraq MAII Kurd MA II

I-I

Quercus infectoria Olivier (Fagaceae) 824 *

بلوط 278 *

Mazû (Inf.); Affaz (Teh.); Ajoos-nafs (Ar.); Maiphala (Hind.); galls, mad, or Dead Sea apples. 386 281

Field 45A, 447; W.H.M.M. 150783.

These galls are excrescences on the twigs of oak trees, resulting from the deposition of eggs of *Cynips gallae-tinctoriae* Olivier. Oak galls are collected in Asiatic Turkey, as well as in the province of Aleppo, and are known commercially as "Aleppo," "Smyrna," or "Turkey" galls. They are nearly spherical in shape, and vary from 12 to 20 mm. in diameter, bluish green externally and yellowish within. They are hard and heavy, and bear short, bluntly pointed projections. The galls contain from 50 to 70 per cent of gallotannic acid, and consequently are used medicinally as a local astringent, to be dusted on wounds. They find an extensive application technically in dyeing and tanning.—In Kurdistan they are sometimes strung as beads and hung over the cradle to ward off the Evil Eye (H.F.). K [189]

Quercus lusitanica Lam. var. tauricola (Fagaceae)

Talkak (?) (Iraq); Basra galls.

Field 102, 120 (Iraq).

These galls are formed by *Cynips insana* Mayr. on the above oak, and also on *Quercus infectoria*. They are much larger than Aleppo galls, dark brown, oval or subspherical, 4 by 3.5 cm., yellowish brown within, a channel leading to the cavity in the center. They are very astringent and rich in tannic acid.

Quercus persica Jaub. & Spach (Fagaceae) [293] 278 *

بلوط

Balût (Teh.); Glans Quercus Balloteae (Fr. Pers.); acorns.

Field 191; W.H.M.M. 150834.

This is one of the most common species of oak throughout the forests of Kurdistan and the Rowandiz area. The acorns are oblong, 3.5 by 1.7 cm., light brown in color, glabrous, shining, and contain a single seed. Acorns have a styptic action because of the tannin they contain; they are used for colic pains in children, and as a gargle.—In Kurdistan acorns are sometimes eaten raw, but they are usually roasted and the flour made into cakes (H.F.). [262] •

Quercus sp. (Fagaceae)

Ginah mushi (Hamm.); Kina, Kena; spiny galls.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Rare MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kürdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 242 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is
●[243] called *djadjik*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

241 The dress of Kürdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gujerat or Constantinople, or of non-oriental stuffs, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *kirk*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *kherdé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kürdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *kheredéa*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from
[245] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kürdish lady. Notwith-

by servants or children entrusted with money. Poorer women do their own marketing, and the prices of food are well known to the wealthy because they are a well-established topic of conversation. The wives of wealthier houses make only rare appearances in the bazar, usually to make a major purchase, such as cloth for a dress, which requires their personal supervision.

The townspeople have three meals each day, the first between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, the second at noon (although it may be postponed one or two hours for officials), and the third between six and seven in the evening. For the poorer classes, the diet is largely built around bread, dairy produce, dates, and tea, with meat and vegetables only once or twice each week. For the wealthier, breakfast consists of bread and tea, with a choice of cheese, butter, or eggs. A typical luncheon includes dolma (vegetable stuffed with meat and rice), a selection of fruits in summer and dates in winter, bread, mast (artificially curdled milk), and tea. The midday meal is the most important of the three, and supper usually consists of the remains of the luncheon with the addition of cheese and the usual bread and tea. The food can be seasoned with salt and a strong pepper obtained from the merchants, or flavored with garlic and a few aromatic herbs to be had locally. Dates, a staple for the poor and the winter diet of all, are imported from southern Iraq pressed in large blocks. In spite of these general observations, the fare of the wealthy has considerable variety, as a brief, but more

cook slowly on the coals for some length of time. Often 252
the rice is coloured with tomato juice. It is served 262
accompanied by smaller dishes of meat, gravy, and vegetables, or has been mixed with these ingredients in the kitchen. On occasion tiny threads of dough, fried in oil, are mingled with the rice before it is cooked. Both wheat and rice flour are used in a number of sweets, and one of them, [263]
gulaney, will provide an example. This is made by preparing a dough of flour, sugar, and ground almonds or walnuts. The dough is rolled into sheets which are superimposed on each other and baked crisp in oil. The resulting pastry, consisting of many thin layers, is cooked with
[illegible] [263]
and sugar, moistened with milk, are used as a food for infants.

Dairy products, particularly cheese and curdled milk, have an important place in the lesser meals. The cheese, [234]
brought in by the villagers, is white in colour and made from goat milk. An interesting and widely-used seasonal dish, dwaing, is prepared in the winter by boiling grain and curdled milk together, drying them in a cloth, adding oil, and beating the mixture. Vegetables, as previously seen, include some variety, and, if cooked, are generally boiled. Salads are favoured in the summer, and a typical recipe consists of sliced cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes flavoured with vinegar or sour pomegranate juice. Curdled milk is often used to mix with fresh vegetables, or is

served alone and the diner can dip slices of cucumber in the dish. Fruits appear only in their seasons, for there are no means of preserving them, and have little other preparation than sprinkling in cold water. Apples baked with sugar, shirni sarga, are considered a delicacy. 252 262 [251]

Of the beverages, tea is prepared in the home three times each day, and is either brewed in a samovar or, more simply, boiled in an open pot. Its service, in small glasses partially filled with sugar, has been noted. There are several ways of treating tea, and one example is that in which a tiny piece of crystallised lemon, limun hushi, is placed in the glass, giving the liquid a citrus flavor. Coffee or hot chocolate are not made regularly in the household, and are reserved for guests. The coffee, of the pulverised "Turkish" variety, is mixed with boiling water, in which a cardamom seed may have been placed for aromatic taste, in the measure of one teaspoon of coffee and one of sugar for each cup desired, and is served in small demi-tasses as a thick, granular syrup. Sherbet consists of a spoonful or two of fruit extract, although some of it is said to be derived from flowers, mixed in a tumbler with water and mountain snow. Fresh grape juice is also found in the summer. Khaiar, curdled milk thinned with water, is drunk throughout the year, but plain milk, save in the case of infants whose mothers are unable to feed them, has very little use, perhaps from fear of intestinal fever. 272 [415] [263] [574] [263] [853]

The diet of the civil officials and their families 262

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

30
574 of thirty persons I reached the conclusion that it was made up as
556 follows:-
672

1	The Agha himself	
1	Wife	
3	Sons	
4	Daughters	
7	Kalderwards	Hardly kinsfolk of some sort
6	Kasserwards	
1	Wife	
2	Brother	
3	Guests	
3	By exaggeration	
30		

In fact it became quite clear that he lumped together all household expenditure as 'the expense of the Guest House', though in fact his expenditure on the guests represented only a small fraction of the total.

However the really expensive item in Guest House upkeep is not
• 243 the killing of a kid a day, but the cost of sugar, tea and coffee
272 especially sugar. During the last fifty years or so the Rowanduz style
177 of tea drinking has become fashionable throughout Kurdistan. The tea
435 is brewed very strong over samovars and served with enormous quantities
514 of lump sugar. The samovar is brought into operation as soon as the guest arrives and tea is served at persistent intervals until he goes away again. Owing to the high import duties and costs of transport, sugar costs about £5/- a bag (of 56 Kilos); and I was told that a bag would last a Guest House such as that of Dergala about a month provided there were no special occasions such as weddings and funerals to be allowed for. If this figure is anywhere near accurate it implies an expenditure of some £27 per annum on sugar alone, which, considering the limited facilities available for obtaining ready cash, is a very substantial sum indeed. Actually the situation must be radically affected by the fact that, as noted above, the guest gives presents to his host. As might be expected the gifts that are most acceptable and most frequently given are the luxury imports already mentioned - sugar, tea and coffee. I cannot then be certain whether, prestige considerations apart, it is an economic advantage or disadvantage for an
764 Agha to have a large number of guests. Even funerals which involve a long period of polite 'social calls' continuing for over a month, and which certainly involve the Agha in heavy outgoings of rice and meat, may yet, it would appear, prove to be profitable in the long run.

262 On the other hand whatever may be the immediate relationship,
511 between the Guest House and the Agha's net income, the importance of Guest House expenditure in the economics of the group as a whole must